

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 03952 281558Z

51

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-25 IO-14 SS-20 SPC-03 PM-07 INR-10

L-03 ARA-16 RSC-01 DRC-01 /119 W

----- 101838

R 281110Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4342

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3952

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR XA PO TZ BR

SUBJECT: PORTUGAL-AFRICA-BRAZIL AND U.S. POLICY

REF: STATE 231458 (BRASILIA 8001)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FROM PERSPECTIVE DAR ES SALAAM, US-AFRICA  
RELATIONS HAVE PRIORITY OVER US-PORTUGAL RELATIONS. NUB OF US RE-  
LATIONS WITH PORTUGAL IS MILITARY BASE IN AZORES AND IN ASSIGNING  
AFRICA HIGHER PRIORITY THAN PORTUGAL WE MAY HAVE UNDER ESTIMATED  
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 03952 281558Z

VALUE OF AZORES BASE TO US. PRESENT COURSE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA,

HOWEVER, FORCING CHOICE OF EITHER BEING WITH PORTUGAL AND AGAINST AFRICA OR VICE VERSA. THUS COST OF AZORES IS IN FACT BECOMING VERY HIGH. IF ALTERNATIVE CAN BE FOUND TO AZORES, THEREFORE, APPEARS WOULD BE VERY MUCH IN US INTEREST. END SUMMARY

2. BELIEVE WE SHOULD FULLY SUPPORT

BRAZIL'S EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH PORTUGAL-AFRICA-BRAZIL TRIANGLE ON BASIS INDEPENDENCE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA (REFTEL PARA 2). WE ALSO FOUND MURTINHO'S VIEWS U.S. DILEMMA CONCERNING PORTUGAL UNUSUALLY PERCEPTIVE--INDEED IN ONE FORUM OR ANOTHER WE HAVE TRIED TO EXPRESS SIMILAR CONCERNS (REFTEL PARA 4), ONE PART OF THIS ISSUE, HOWEVER, DESERVES ADDITIONAL WORDS.

3. ON ONE HAND, WE HAVE RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL, A COUNTRY OF EIGHT MILLION, POOR IN NATURAL RESOURCES, DESPOTIC (THE BRIEF CAETANO SPRING NOTWITHSTANDING), ENMESHED IN COLONIAL WARS IN AFRICA, AND TRYING DESPERATELY TO HAND ON TO ITS COLONIAL TERRITORIES WORLDWIDE. PORTUGAL IS, IN ADDITION, A MEMBER OF NATO AND AZORES BASE PROVED MOST USEFUL TO US DURING RECENT ARAB-ISRAELI WAR. ON OTHER HAND, WE HAVE AFRICA, A CONTINENT OF OVER 40 INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND SEVERAL TERRITORIES OR COLONIES, OF 250-300 MILLION PEOPLE, RICH IN NATURAL RESOURCES, MANY GOVERNMENTS ALSO DESPOTIC (DESPITE PROTESTATIONS, AND IN SOME CASES SINCERE EFFORTS TO DO BETTER), AND COMMITTED TO OUSTING LAST VESTIGES OF COLONIALISM. THERE ARE A FEW FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN AFRICA, OURS AND OTHERS, BUT NONE COMPARABLE NOR SEEMINGLY AS VALUABLE AS AZORES. IF WE WISH ASSIGN PRIORITY TO US RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL AND WITH AFRICA, GREATER IMPORTANCE TO US OF AFRICA VIS-A-VIS PORTUGAL APPEARS SELF EVIDENT. WE SUSPECT, HOWEVER, HIGHER PRIORITY OF AFRICA IS NOT SO SELF EVIDENT TO OTHERS. IF TRUE, NATO MEMBERSHIP AND AZORES BASE TWO ITEMS ON PORTUGAL'S LEDGER WHICH NOT ON AFRICA'S. FRANCE AND UK MEMBERSHIP IN NATO NOT AFFECTED BY SUCCESSFUL US PRESSURE ON THEM AFTER WW II TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO THEIR COLONIES. BELIEVE, THEREFORE, PORTUGAL'S MEMBERSHIP IN NATO SIMILARLY NEED NOT BE AFFECTED IN THIS REGARD. WHAT IS THEN LEFT ON PORTUGAL'S EDGER IS U.S. MILITARY BASE IN AZORES WHERE WE MUST HAVE MISCALCULATED VALUE AND WHERE OUR TALLY COULD GO WRONG. NEXT QUESTION FOLLOWS: WHAT PRICE AZORES? CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 DAR ES 03952 281558Z

4. WHAT PRICE AZORES? THIS IS PROBABLY NUB OF US-PORTUGAL AND US-AFRICA (AND PERHAPS US-LDC) POLICY PROBLEMS. BLUNTLY PUT, WE DO NOT BELIEVE MAINTENANCE AZORES BASE IS WORTH DISRUPTION OUR RELATIONS IN MOST AFRICA (AND GOODLY PORTION REST OF LDC WORLD), DENIAL IMPORTANT NATURAL RESOURCES TO US, ISOLATION IN UN WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGAL, AND TARNISHING OF HISTORIC US ANTI-COLONIAL TRADITION. WE ADMIT WE DO NOT HAVE ALL FACTS

AT HAND TO JUDGE WORTH OF AZORES, AND OF OTHER U.S. TIES TO PORTUGAL, AND WE MUST DEFER TO THOSE WHO DO TO MAKE BALANCED DECISION. BUT WE REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT AZORES IS WORTH MORE TO US THAN RELATIONS WITH MOST AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND ACCESS TO NATURAL RESOURCES THOSE RELATIONS PERMIT. A CHANGE IN OUR POLICY TOWARDS PORTUGAL WOULD PUT US MORE IN STEP NOT ONLY WITH SUCH AN IMPORTANT FRIEND AS BRAZIL BUT ALSO WITH MOST OF OUR NATO ALLIES.

5. IT IS DIFFICULT FROM HERE TO SEE AS THINGS ARE GOING ANY REAL ALTERNATIVE TO EITHER BEING WITH PORTUGAL AND AGAINST AFRICA OR VICE VERSA. IF WE RETAIN AZORES BASE (TO PUT US-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS IN SHORTHAND TERMS), WE MUST PAY PRICE. ON OTHER HAND, IF WE GIVE UP BASE AND CUT OTHER SUBSIDIES TO PORTUGAL, PORTUGUESE MIGHT BE BE FORCED TO ALTER POLICIES TO SOMETHING WE ALL--PORTUGUESE, AFRICANS, AMERICANS, BRAZILIANS--CAN LIVE WITH. TO RETAIN AZORES BASE AND RPT AND GET PORTUGUESE TO END AFRICAN WARS--A HAVE YOUR CAKE AND EAT IT TOO PROPOSITION--SIMPLY DOES NOT SEEM IN THE CARDS.

6. IN SUM, ONE KEEPS RETURNING TO NUB OF MATTER: WHAT PRICE AZORES? IT WOULD SEEM OVERDUE, IF NOT ALREADY DONE, THAT HARD HEADED ANALYSIS BE MADE TO DETERMINE WHETHER JOB WE NEED DOING FROM AZORES CANNOT BE DONE FROM ELSEWHERE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE TOLD AZORES IS IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ATLANTIC OCEAN ANTI-SUBMARINE DEFENSE PERIMETER. CAN THIS JOB BE DONE AS WELL AT REASONABLE COST BY OTHER MEANS? WE DO NOT KNOW, BUT BELIEVE THERE MUST BE ALTERNATIVES IN THIS AREA AND SOONER WE DISCOVER THEM THE BETTER. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, REMAINING IN AZORES HAS BECOME TOO COSTLY.

CARTER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, COLONIALISM, MILITARY BASES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 NOV 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Reference:** STATE 231458 (BRASILIA 8001)  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 SEP 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <25-Sep-2001 by rowelle0>; APPROVED <28-Nov-2001 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PORTUGAL-AFRICA-BRAZIL AND U.S. POLICY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, XA, PO, TZ, BR  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005